

Message Text

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ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 AS-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02
SS-15 USIA-06 OMB-01 EB-07 TRSE-00 COME-00 /064 W
-----118635 090355Z /20

P R 080910Z JUL 77

FM USLO PEKING

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8149

INFO AMCONSUL PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

CINCPAC

C O N F I D E N T I A L PEKING 1380

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT CH

SUBJ: HSIANG CHUN ARTICLE EXONERATES TENG

REF: (A) PEKING 944 (B) PEKING 1304

1. SUMMARY. THE JULY 7 PEOPLE'S DAILY CARRIES A LONG AND ANTHORITATIVE

ARTICLE BY THE PSEUDONYMOUS HSIANG CHUN, WHOSE LAST PIECE WAS PRINTED
ON MARCH 14 IN THE MIDST OF POLITBURO DELIBERATIONS ON HANDLING OF
TENG HSIAO-PING. LIKE THAT ARTICLE, THE JULY 7 HSIANG CHUN EFFORT
IS DESIGNED TO SWEEP AWAY REMAINING OBJECTIONS TO TENG'S
REHABILITATION, TO EXONERATE TENG OF ALL CHARGES LEVELLED AGAINST
HIM IN 1976, AND TO AFFIRM THE VALIDITY OF TENG'S PROGRAMMATIC
DOCUMENTS. HUA KUO-FENG, THE PREMIER AND FIRST VICE CHAIRMAN OF
THE PARTY DURING THE EVENTS DESCRIBED IN THE ARTICLE, IS SCARCELY
MENTIONED -- SUGGESTING SOME RETICENCE TO AIR HUA'S ROLE DURING
CRITICISM OF TENG. WE SUSPECT THAT HSIANG CHUN SPEAKS FOR A
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FACTION -- THE PRO-TENG GROUP -- AND NOT THE POLITBURO AND THAT
THIS ARTICLE IS THE PUBLIC REFLECTION OF ONGOING PRIVATE
DELIBERATIONS. END SUMMARY.

2. THE JULY 7 PEOPLES DAILY CARRIES A LONG AND AUTHORITATIVE
ARTICLE BY THE PSEUDONYMOUS HSIANG CHUN ("TO THE MASSES").
WHOSE ONLY OTHER WORK WAS PUBLISHED LAST MARCH 14 IN THE MIDST

OF POLITBURO DELIBERATIONS ON HANDLING OF THE TENG HSIAO-POING CASE.

3. OSTENSIBLY WRITTEN TO CRITICIZE THE GANG OF FOUR'S AUGUST 1976 FUSILLADE AGAINST TENG'S "ON THE GENERAL PROGRAMME", THE ARTICLE REVIEWS THE EVENTS SURROUNDING PREPARATION AND SUBSEQUENT CRITICISM OF THE WORK. THE NET EFFECT IS TO EXONERATE TENG OF ALL CHARGES LEVELLED AGAINST HIM (WITHOUT EVER NAMING HIM) AND TO AFFIRM THE VALIDITY OF HIS 1975 POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PROGRAM.

4. THE KEY PASSAGE IN THE ARTICLE ADROITLY DISPOSES OF A PRIME DILEMMA WHICH HAS CONFRONTED THE PRO-TENG GROUP: HOW TO EXPLAIN AWAY MAO'S PUBLIC CRITICISM OF TENG FOR FORGETTING CLASS STRUGGLE. HSIANG CHUN ACKNOWLEDGES THAT TENG COMMITTED A "MISTAKE OF PRINCIPLE" BY INCLUDING INAPPROPRIATE PHRASES -- ESPECIALLY "TAKE THE THREE DIRECTIVES AS THE KEY LINK" - IN THE EARLY OCTOBER 1975 FIRST DRAFT, BUT ARGUES THAT TENG SWIFTLY RECTIFIED THIS ERROR BY STRIKING THE OFFENDING PASSAGES FROM THE SECOND DRAFT SUBMITTED SOON AFTERWARDS.

5. COMMENT: THE PHRASE "MISTAKE OF PRINCIPLE" HAS NOT PREVIOUSLY BEEN EMPLOYED TO OUR KNOWLEDGE; IT MAY IN FACT BE MAO'S PERSONAL MARGINAL NOTATION ON THE DOCUMENT.

6. ELSEWHERE HSIANG CHUN MAINTAINS THAT MAO NEVER CRITICIZED
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TENG'S THREE PROGRAMMATIC WORKS AS "POISONOUS WEEDS" AND "STILL MORE" NEVER CALLED FOR CRITICISM OF THEM.

7. HSIANG CHUN DEFENDS THE PHRASE SLOGAN "UNITY AND STABILITY" (ONE OF THE THREE DRIECTIVES BY MAO THAT THE GANG OF FOUR ACCUSED TENG OF EMPLOYING OUT OF CONTEXT TO DEEMPHASIZE CLASSSTRUGGLE) AND APPLAUDS HUA KUO-FENG FOR UNDERSTANDING AND IMPLEMENTING THIS "THOUGHT" FOLLOWING PURGE OF THE GANG OF FOUR.

8. OTHERWISE HUA KUO-FENG IS MENTIONED RARELY IN THE ARTICLE, A POSSIBLE TIPOFF THAT HIS ROLE AS PREMIER AND FIRST VICE CHAIRMAN OF THE MARTY IN HANDLING OF THE TENG AFFAIR IN 1976 IS SENSITIVE. CERTAINLY HSIANG CHUN DAMNS HUA WITH FAINT PRAISE, APPLAUDING HIM IN EFFECT ONLY FOR BELATEDLY FOLLOWING TENG'S COURSE OF "UNITY AND STABILITY".

9. THAT THE ARTICLE IS HIGHLY SIGNIFICANT CANNOT BE DOUBTED. LENGTHY EXCERPTS WERE READ OVER THE JULY 7 RADIO NEWS BROADCASTS: ONE BROADCAST CARRIED AN ANNOUNCEMENT -- ALMOST UNPRECEDENTED -- ADVISING LISTENERS TO TUNE IN AFTER A LATER HOUR

FOR READING OF THE ENTIRE TEXT. AMERICAN AND OCEANIAN DEPARTMENT
DIRECTOR LIN PING DREW THE ARTICLE TO THE ATTENTION OF FORMER
AUSTRALIAN AMBASSADOR FITZGERALD (CURRENTLY VISITING), TERMING IT
"VERY IMPORTANT.". AND USLO DRIVERS AND LANGUAGE TEACHERS HAVE NOTED
ITS IMPORTANCE TO
USLO OFFICERS.

10. WE SURMISE THAT HSIANG CHUN SPEAKS FOR THE PRO-TENG
FACTION, NOT THE ENTIRE POLITBURO. DESPITE THE HEAVY RADIO
AND PEOPLE'S DAILY PLAY, THE ARTICLE WAS NOT CARRIED IN
KWANGMING DAILY NOR HAS IT YET BEEN CARRIED OR EXCERPTED IN
ENGLISH-LANGUAGE NCNA. IT WILL BE RECALLED THAT HSIANG
CHUN'S EARLIER ARTICLE DREW FIRE IN A FOREIGN MINISTRY
WALL POSTER (REF A) AND WAS DEFENDED IN A PEKING UNIVERSITY
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WALL POSTER (REF B). WHILE THE ARTICLE PROBABLY CONSTITUTES
THE PUBLIC REFLECTION OF ONGOING PRIVATE DEBATE OVER TENG,
IT DOES NOT NECESSARILY SIGNIFY THAT TENG WILL RETURN
IMMINENTLY. THAT QUESTION WILL ULTIMATELY BE DECIDED BY
POWER, NOT POLEMICS AND CLOSELY-REASONED NEWSPAPER ARTICLES.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PROPAGANDA, POLITICAL STABILITY, PRESS COMMENTS, POLITICAL LEADERS
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Sent Date: 08-Jul-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
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Disposition Remarks:
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Errors: N/A
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Retention: 0
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Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 29-Dec-2004 12:00:00 am
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Review Release Date: n/a
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Subject: HSIANG CHUN ARTICLE EXONERATES TENG
TAGS: PINT, CH, (TENG HSIAO-PING), (HUA KUO-FENG)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/aaa8a6e-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
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